361 **KAZĀN**, also written Ḳāzān, in the xvth and xvith centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xixth century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q.v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Khalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiabka had to submit to Khān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Khān in his place. In 1496 the Khān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Khān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Khān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Khān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Shāh ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Djān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Shāh ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāy who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāy from the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāy from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Khān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāy went

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175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarkhān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Ǧān ʿAlī that was elected Ḫān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Ḫān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Ḫān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

341 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Sūyūnbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Ǧān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the [648] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviiith century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their his-
101 tory, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.

According to Radlov[1] the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.[2] They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun[3] mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold[4] and Samoilovich,[5] however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov[6] and Samoilovich.[7] The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.[8]

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

[1] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.
[2] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 136.
[3] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.
[4] Bartold, *Kazak*.
[5] Samoilovich, *O Slove "Kazak."*
[6] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.
[7] *Op. cit.* 13.
[8] *Idem*, 5–13.

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for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between the Ural and Emba Rivers.[9] 175

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.[10]

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:[11]

> On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533–34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.[12] His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.[13] A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.[14] Asfendiarov suggests,[15] probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissable to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes. [101]

[9] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 141–42; Ibn Battûta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 222–40.

[10] Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, 2: 143; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 238.

[11] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarîkh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[12] Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

[13] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

[14] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 142.

[15] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77–81.

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175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipčak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Babur[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradu- [221] ally from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas.

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth

[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.
[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.
[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.
[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.
[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.
[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.
[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.
[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.
[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.
[25] Howorth, *op. cit.*, 2: 674.

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century of a fourth orda. This group consisted originally of about 7,000 people from the Middle and Little Ordas who followed their leader Bukei in 1801 to the steppes north of the Caspian. Here their numbers were soon increased by the addition of fragments of other Kazak, Nogai, Karakalpak and Kirghiz groups who collectively were known as the Bukei Orda from the name of their khan.[26] 175

In this connection it may be noted that the term orda means simply the "court or headquarters of a khan."[27] Carpini[28] says of the word: " . . . sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos et principum appelantur."[29] By extension, however, the word may be applied to all the people subject to a particular khan, in somewhat the same way, for example, that an ambassador accredited to the "Court of St. James" is thought of as ambassador to Great Britain. There is still another Kazak term, çyz, referring to the divisions themselves as distinguished from the restricted use of orda. According to the Kazak dictionary of Begaliev and Gavrilov,[30] çyz means a person or individual; one hundred; the edge of a blade; surface; exterior, appearance, features; as well as one of the three major divisions. The process by which the basic meanings of the word have been extended to include the last is not clear.[31] It is possible, however, that the "one hundred" meaning may originally have had some military significance,[32] which was identified with the orda groupings. My informants were unable to explain to me, or more accurately, I was unable to understand clearly the distinction in use between orda and çyz. They nearly always employed orda but it may have been done for my benefit.

After their separation the ordas were occasionally reunited under an especially competent khan or in the face of a common danger.[33] This happened during the reign of Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century as mentioned above[34] and again in 1738 for protection against the attacks of the Kalmyk.[35] They were never, however, able to unite against the Russians, who successfully played off one Kazak leader against another.

Although commercial and occasional diplomatic relations had existed between Russia and the Kazak khanates from the time of their formation,[36] it was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that Russian expansion to the east and south provoked an active

[26] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 26, 33–35, 38; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 297; Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 21, Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 34.

[27] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakskо-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 159.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*, 44.

[29] See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 58, note.

[30] *Idem*, 56.

[31] It is interesting to note, however, that in modern Osmanli Turkish the same word means "part," "portion," "division." Muhtar, *Türkçe-Fransızca Yeni Lugat*, 59; Gordlevskiĭ and Magazanik, *Turetsko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 183.

[32] See below, page 56.

[33] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.

[34] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.

[35] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 83–87.

[36] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 2: 24, note A.

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175 clash of interests. By 1720 Russia had occupied the northern steppes along the Irtysh[37] and a few years later (1732) the Khans of the Little and Middle Ordas, being at the time hard pressed by their enemies, acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia in return for protection.[38] Yet this submission did not mean Russian control over the nomads. The Russians merely accorded recognition to particular khans who seldom enjoyed more than a nominal control over their people.[39] Meanwhile some groups of the Great Orda paid tribute to the Chinese emperor and others were strongly under the influence of Kokand and Bokhara.[40] Russian occupation of the steppes did not become truly effective until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the capture of Tashkent in 1865 was followed by the conquest of all Turkestan.

After the solidification of Russian power important changes were made in the administration of the Kazak.[41] Until this time the groups nominally subject to Russia had enjoyed almost complete autonomy under their own khans and within their own tribal system. In 1868, however, the entire steppe was divided into a number of administrative units among which the tribal groups were apportioned arbitrarily. Local officials were elected subject to government supervision and Kazak common law was systematized.[42] There is some evidence that the native Kazak organization was rather lightly abandoned by the people. Thus Radlov[43] observes that the names of the official subdivisions had very quickly acquired more significance than the old tribal names, and Schuyler[44] in 1873 found that "the clannish feeling for the members of the same family and tribe is being transferred to the members of the same volost and district." My own informants usually started discussions of tribal organization in terms of Tsarist administrative units.

The regulations of 1868 remained in force with minor changes until the revolution of 1917 and the subsequent organization of Kazakstan as an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union.

[37] Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 242.

[38] *Ibid.*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 31; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–88.

[39] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 32.

[40] Asfendiarov, *op. cit.*, 87.

[41] The numerous decrees and regulations regarding the administration of the steppe provinces from the 1820's on, are indexed alphabetically and chronologically in the "Complete Laws of the Russian Empire" (*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*).

[42] Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 32–33; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 146–55.

[43] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.

[44] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 34.

5: Levchine--1 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and ● 175 written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the 721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic general (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[137 cont.]

● 175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 631 727 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peoples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[69] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[139 cont.]
●175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [72] [181] [77] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

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101 [139 cont.] the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are [121] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

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439 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[648 439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 797] Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[141 cont.]
175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.
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3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22..

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
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2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

● 175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

[233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 721 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[145 cont.]

175 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was
721 always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is re-
[114] ferred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years
[662 later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed
578] Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

175 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his
721 disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[146 cont.]

175 721 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely exterminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 721 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring 175 723 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 648 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

[147 cont.]

175 648 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he [15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 643 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan [72] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[148 cont.]

175 643 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 643 554 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 643 728 669 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 643 728 669 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 643 In spite of all his services and his influence among the hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 631 173 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into three hordes, without having said when and how this took place. Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

176 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[A3]

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
662 recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
578 began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
726 this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
727 took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

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that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
729 in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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721
726 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant

[151 cont.]

175 721 726 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most 175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde 167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations 731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[642] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[153 cont.]
175 latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the
166 power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks
726 had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to
721 give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them.
Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the
future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural,
248 new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was
necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was
necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often
come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was
difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it
to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed
orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154]
came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the
name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai,
and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive
sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar,
one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous
to win the people over to them, and their mission remained un-
successful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this
step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased
by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order
636 and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the
187 tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as
infidels.

648 These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the
636 Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate
circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever
mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people
to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry
out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to
which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal.
I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress
Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

128 Before coming to the description of this revolution, which
is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

● [175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
[132 which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
342] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

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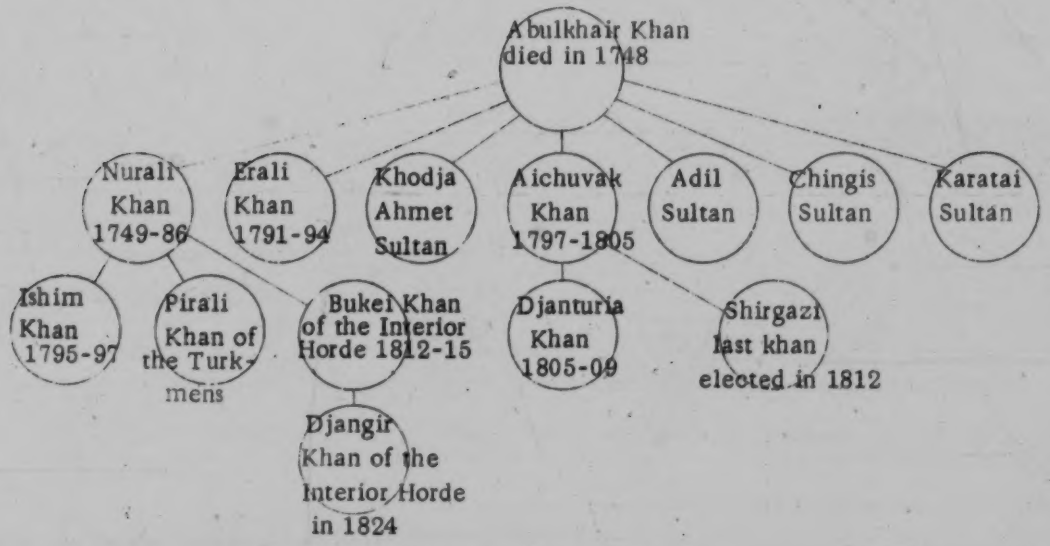
5: Levchine--184 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H·T 175 /141 cont./

completely disappeared from the scene of history after 119 A. D. In 177 A. D. the tribes living in the Kirghiz krai were forced westward by Huns entering from the Chinese dominions. The Huns moved across the southern steppes to the west and completely destroyed the Yuechi tribe, related to the Usun', who were in their path. In the 5th century A. D. the Huns who remained in the region under discussion (most of them had already gone into the southern Russian and Hungarian steppes) fell under the domination of the Mongols moving in from the southeast. Most of them were soon scattered and destroyed by the nearest Mongol hordes from the Uigur tribe, descending from the Altai (in the 7th century). During this period (5th to 7th centuries), after the powerful and conquering Hunnian wave, there came an almost unbroken movement of various Turkic tribes from the east, especially from the Altai. At this time the Pecheneg came to the southern steppes, but were soon forced out by the Turks into the modern Ural oblast and beyond to the Volga. In the 9th century they were already well-known to the Russian princes as a wild steppe (nomadic) people /illustration appears here/ and a troublesome neighbor. In the 11th century another Turkic tribe, the Polovtsi, appeared along the same path. They pressed the Pecheneg and the Turks and also moved westward. They, like the others, had a nomadic economy, and when they reached the Russian boundaries they also engaged in raids on the nearest Russian towns and villages.

K H·T 175 New Turkic tribes appeared on the historical scene at approximately the same time, known by the general name of Kirghz-Kazak (Kaisak). In view of the fact that this people played and is now playing a great role in the history of our region, we will give a more detailed description here both of their history and of their way of life and their mores (in the following chapters).

H·T [631] K [101] Our outline concerns a brief history of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ living on the borders of our krai, i.e., the four steppe oblasts: Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Ural. According to the

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175 Alchin, and Argyn. According to the scanty historical evidence about them, these Turkic tribes have long been wandering in the various corners of the continent of Asia. The Kerei lived intermittently with the Mongols on the Kerulen and Onon rivers in the homeland of Genghis Khan and fell prey to his first conquests. In the 12th century the Naiman were wandering southwest of the Kerei between the Orkhon and Irtysh rivers. The Kypchak and the Alchin wandered in the northwestern half of the present steppe oblasts. The Mongols of Genghis Khan, going from eastern Siberia into Central Asia, and then the hordes of Batu, also departing from eastern Siberia, beginning at the upper course of the Irtysh river (where Batu designated the point of assembly) and moving thence through the present Steppe krai to the mouth of the Volga, produced an intermingling of all the nomadic tribes they encountered on their way. Because of the common way of life of the Mongols and the Turkic tribes, the latter mixed with the former. After this mixture, produced by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Batu, it appeared that the Naiman and Argyn, about whom there had been no earlier information, entered the ulus /subtribe/ of Chagatay /Dzhagatai/, the second son of Genghis Khan, and in the 14th century were wandering from the Imil' River southwest to Kara-Tal and west to the Nura River. The Kerei appeared on the Black Irtysh, while the Kypchak and Alchin entered the ulus of Djuchi /Dzhuchi/, the elder son of Genghis Khan, and constituted the nucleus of the Golden or Kypchak Horde of Batu. After the period of Batu the historical fate of the tribes mentioned was closely linked with the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi. Although nominally under the power of the Genghisides, the nomadic tribes retained their tribal way of life and their nomadism. A biy acted as judge in civil and criminal cases, a man who stood out among the people for his eloquence, his knowledge of the juridical folk customs, his impartiality, and the justice of his decisions. Clashes between clans over pasture land took place very often

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•105 on the steppe because of the particular mobility which is inevitable in a livestock-herding economy. The struggle between between the clans gave rise to resourceful and daring leaders, who bore the title of batyr? Frequently the biy and the batyr' were combined in one and the same person. The skillful magistrate and wise judge in peacetime was transformed into a scout when he departed for war in defense of the clan, /143/ into a leader of troops, a soldier, and, after the war, into a diplomat. The nomads with their superb horsemen and unusual mobility represented an immense military power in their time, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Every clan, governed by its biy and commanded by its batyr', entered alliances and broke off from them freely, acknowledging over themselves only that superior power which corresponded to the interests of the clan or its leader. The customary struggle for power and appanages among the Genghisides was settled with the constant interference of the most powerful Turkic tribes, which played an active role in the breaking up of the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi.

In the middle of the 15th century, Turkic tribes which later entered the steppe oblasts under the name of Kirghiz / /Kazak/ entered the historical scene in the form of an independent political power on the ruins of those uluses mentioned above. /Illustration appears here./

Taking advantage of the weakness of power of the Uzbek khan Abulkhair (1), the Djuchide-sultans Girei /or Girey/ and

1. From the time of their khan Uzbek, who died in 1342, the Golden Horde began to bear his name.

Djany-Bek /Dzhany-Bek/ broke off from him with their adherents and found refuge in the western part of his ulus on the river Chu, thanks to the hatred for Abulkhair of the Chagatayde khan of Mogolistan, Isa-Bug. Here they founded an alliance of nomads which later received the name of "Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak)."

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101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
● 175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

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619 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal. Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
643 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize
631 power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of
175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again
619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political
631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

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1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

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175 In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the
619 designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and
63 Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic
614 tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak,
[101] Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

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Kalmyk AH5

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but these attempts were unsuccessful.

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In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents. /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

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With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

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/146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural

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RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

KK. /146 cont./
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648 Dzungarians however, would not permit the Russians to establish themselves there. In spite of the fact that Buchholz was accompanied by a considerable detachment (3,000 men), they besieged him and forced him to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om and to renounce his aim. Only five years later, with the consent of the Dzungarians, the Russians did succeed in founding several fortresses along the Irtysh (Omsk, Staro-Semipalatinsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk).

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175 As we have seen, in 1723 the Dzungarians defeated a
648 part of the Elder and Middle Hordes of the Kirghiz /Kazak/
167 (wandering west of them). The Younger Horde and the part of
KK the Middle Horde that remained independent moved northwest
175 to the Siberian border of the Russians and to the Bashkir. Mean-
648 while the khans Abulkhair and Semeke swore allegiance to the Russians in order to protect themselves better from the Dzungarians.

KK It was during this period that the kingdom of Dzungaria reached its
175 greatest power and might, extending from the Altai across the
631 southern part of the present Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and
648 Turgai oblasts to the Aral Sea, and southward to the foothills of the Tien Shan. In 1739 the Dzungarians attacked the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and drove them to the Ural (Yaik) River, in the course of which many Bashkir who were subject to the Russians were killed. The Russian government, however, decided not to punish the Dzungarians for the attack, for it still recognized them as a powerful enemy. These Dzungarian kontayshi considered themselves so powerful that they paid no heed to good relations with their strong neighbors -- China and Russia. Only after /147/ clan dissensions once again arose in Dzungaria did its power fall, this time finally, and the Chinese and Russians did not fail to take advantage of it. In 1751 the kontaysha Amursana was seeking to rule Dzungaria. Since he had no hope of achieving his aim by his own power, he turned to the Chinese government for help. The latter, expecting to gain an advantage from the war which was beginning, sent an army to Amursana, which did indeed help him to gain rule. Instead of acknowledging

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk ANS
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK 175 631 648 /147 cont./ himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

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With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

K 175 648 [619] [167]

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

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RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T /152 cont./
175 modern Akmolinsk, Bayan-Aul, Kokchetav, and Karkaralinsk.
648 In addition to the Kazak /Cossacks/, Russian industrial people
[167] came to the steppe and opened gold, silver, and copper mines
H.T there. In 1837 patrols were established between Kokchetav and
K Akmolinsk, and in the same year the government raised the
175 question of transferring the southern boundaries to the river Chu,
648 but were restrained from this step by the danger of increasing the fermentation among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, which had been evoked by the rebellion of Kenesary (1). When peace had been

H.T.
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1. From 1847 to 1856, Little Russian /Ukrainian/ Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants of the Orenburg and Samara guberniyas were resettled in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds, constituting over 8,000 persons. Meanwhile all the peasant villages along the Gor'kaya line and along the Irtysh (up to 14,000 persons) were made Kazak /Cossacks/ and attached to the .an land.

established, the Russian government at last held in its power the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes who wandered on the boundaries of the modern Akmolinsk oblast and the western part of the
H.T. Semipalatinsk oblast. Meanwhile further Russian conquests had
175 been going on in Semirechye. Finally in 1860 the Peking peace
648 treaty was made with China, according to which the Russian
439 /153/ border ran south from the Narym valley to Lake Zaisan (the Chakil'mes mountain) and across Tarbagatai to the Tien Shan. This increase in territory was already called for by trade considerations. By this time the Russian merchants had made millions of exchanges with the Chinese and the Mongols, buying tea and raw materials from them and selling manufactured goods.

The commercial dealings took place through the Zaisan

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2
Bashkir RF3

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All the uprisings, however, ended in the defeat of the Bashkir and the strengthening of Russian rule. In 1731-32, the Middle and Younger Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes wandered to the border of Bashkiria and submitted to Russian sovereignty. This made it necessary to strengthen the position of Russian rule on the border, in part to defend the Kirghiz /Kazak/ from the Dzungarians, in part to support peaceful relations between the Bashkir and the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The latter, however, was not successful. /155/ There was frequent commotion, contributed to on the one hand by Moslem propaganda, pretenders, and fugitives confusing the population, and, on the other hand, by the provocative form of activity of agents of the Russian government. When the Russian administration gave away the Bashkir land along the Ilek to the nomad Kirghiz /Kazak/, a great uprising resulted (1735-40), which ended in a terrible massacre of the Bashkir.

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Neplyuyev, one of the first commanders of this border, rendered great service to his government in stabilizing the rule. He founded modern Orenburg and extended out from it three lines of fortifications which cut across the region and had a restraining effect on the population. One of these lines, the Nizhne-Yaitskaya Distantsiya /Lower Yaik Range/, extended along the right bank of the Ural (Yaik) to the Caspian Sea. Here nine fortresses were set up, and 19 outposts, whose defense was the responsibility of the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/. In order to increase the Russian population, Neplyuyev arranged that the nameless fugitives might be permitted to settle freely around the advance posts and other parts of the region. The importance of this group of fugitives became especially marked after the administrative colonization (with Russians and Tatars) failed to lead to positive results. In order to attach the Kazak /Cossacks/ (fugitives) to these places, wages were established for all the service men and the right to exclusive use of the abundance of fish in the Ural River. As a consequence service people joined them from the Kama settlements, as well as part of the garrison population from the Orenburg army. These people constituted the first legal Russian population on the Ural border.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

/155 cont./

000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 648 167 241 427 We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

K [427] [648] [175]

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

K [427] [648] [175]

H.T. [36]

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175 /156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 179 [241] The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

H.T. 175 648 179

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Siberia RR2

H.S. /172 cont./

175 87 At the beginning of the 1880's the first private society for cultural enlightenment was opened in the region "for the care of elementary education" (in Omsk). In general, education began to make considerable strides in the region beginning from the 1860's. In recent times attention has been turned to agricultural education and the spreading of skills and crafts through the region. Lower agricultural schools were opened in the uyezds in 1885 for this purpose. Finally it would be impossible not to mention the opening (in 1877) in Omsk of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which occupies an eminent place in the history of enlightenment in the region, both in the study of the region and as an educational society, and which is rallying the best local cultural forces around it.

K 175 871 191 The dissemination of reading and writing among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population was founded long ago. Their first elementary schools were opened even considerably earlier than those for the Russian population, but there is very little literacy in Russian among them.

This lack of literacy in Russian among the indigenous population is explained, perhaps, by the fact that at the beginning in these schools there was not as much effort made to teach the children to read and write Russian as there was to give them a definite ideological direction. Thus the first schools were opened by the administration in 1782 in many mosques, and Tobolsk Tatars were hired as teachers in order to block the influence of the Central Asian mullahs on the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population subject to the Russians. At the same time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were given full access to Russian schools. In the 1870's boarding schools were opened in all the uyezd towns in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively for Kirghiz /Kazak/ children (later transformed into lower agricultural schools). At present nomad village schools are being opened here.

K 175 871

H.T. 175 87 K [871] [175]

/172 cont./

In the Turgai oblast the beginning of public education coincided in time with the founding of the oblast (1869), and 800 rubles were set aside for it. The first school, however, a Russian-Kirghiz /Kazak/ one with two classes, was not actually opened until 1879. After this the development of schools continued with considerable success. In 1883 a teachers' school was opened in Orsk in the Orenburg guberniya (next to the Turgai oblast), and a craft school in Turgai. In 1887, Russian schools appeared; in 1891, girls' elementary schools were opened in Turgai, Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, and Kara-Butak, and in 1892 mobile nomad village schools were established especially for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, with a program equal to the first two divisions of the one-class schools of the Ministry of Education. There are also about 20 church parochial schools. The largest number of schools (up to 54) are in the most populated uyezd, that of Kustanai, while there are fewer (up to 12) in the Turgai uyezd. /173/ There are no intermediate schools in the Turgai oblast. In the Ural oblast elementary education has been established quite satisfactorily. In addition to the Kazak /Cossack/ military schools here, there are schools of the Ministry of Education (Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/) and church parochial schools. Statistical data for 1900 give a picture of the situation with regard to elementary education in the region as follows (see the table on this page /on the next page in the translation/).

H.T. 871

The Ural oblast is first in number of schools, and the Semipalatinsk oblast is last. There is one school for every 3,065 persons in the region. The number of effective schools, as we see, is still very inadequate, and the idea of universal education in the region is an almost inaccessible dream.

The position of the region with regard to intermediate and special education is no better. Such important and, comparatively speaking, fairly rich cities as Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk do not have to this day a single intermediate school (not counting the progymnasium for boys recently opened in the former). Meanwhile the need for them is strongly felt, since the intermediate schools which exist in Omsk are overfilled. In Uralsk there is a (military) professional school and

[Text Continues on P. 61]

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
594 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
195 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
191 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

342 /207 cont./ described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 554 352 353 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds himself and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten [434] rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

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Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

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At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

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As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

K [101] [162]

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

K [648]

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

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REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

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175 of the modern Iranians, who conquered nameless aborigines five hundred years before the present era. The Scythians were later overwhelmed by Huns coming from the east, who were followed by Greeks under Alexander the Great, Persians (Parthians, Sogdians, Bactrians), Mongolian hordes (Hephthalites), Avars, Arabs, Turks, and Turko-Mongols again in successive onslaughts, and finally by Russians in the 19th century.

The predominant life pattern of these peoples is nomadic pastoralism. The classic habitat of nomadism is the Asiatic steppe, and the classic practitioners are the Turks and Mongols. In the course of the past thousand years, many herders have gone over to farming as a more efficient form of land utilization wherever climate and soil factors have permitted it. Farming enables more people to get a living out of less land than does herding. The fertile valleys and oases of Central Asia, coupled with the example of earlier Asiatic peoples, have encouraged many of the Turks to make this transition. Indeed, the history of Asia can be interpreted as a history of the relations between herders and farmers, each of whom needs and trades for the products of the other; conquests and wars result from the breakdown of this traditional symbiotic relationship.

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[614] The various peoples of the region have archaic forms of social organization. However ancient and extensive their states and empires, it is the tie of blood which unites a people. Theoretically, all Kazakhs are descended in the male line from a common ancestor, as are the Uzbeks and the Mongols. The societies and nations of the region are composed of an intricate web of relationships which are partly blood ties and partly political ties. The fact of descent from the ancestor of all Kazakhs determines a man's "Kazakhhood"; the fact that all Kazakhs once formed a single nation likewise determines his membership in Kazakh society.

The modern era of relative chaos on the steppes of Asia began with the death of Tamerlane and the collapse of his empire early in the 15th century. He ruled over the last of the great empires which had drawn their strength from nomadic warriors and had dominated Central Asia for so many centuries. His death marked the end of this long period of political integration; instead of one great and inclusive Turkic nation on the steppe, there began the age of particularisms which continued down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century. Parallel processes were at work in Europe at this time, but, unlike Europe, the local patriotisms and local loyalties on the steppe had no fixed territories, boundaries, or capital cities.

All the great cities of Central Asia lie outside the steppe in the surrounding fertile valleys. These cities—Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar—were once world-famous for their splendor, and their mention still leaves a ring of ancient glory. They were centers of learning, of administration, of trade and caravan entrepots, of bazaars, of arts and handicrafts. During the chaotic period from the 15th to the 19th centuries they failed to achieve domination over the steppe, nor did the herdsmen of the steppe win power over them. Thus the period between the recession of the great nomadic empires and the Russian conquest and engulfment was a time of intermittent wars and uneasy peace. These troubled

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times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

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However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

KN 173 believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

K 173 602 The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. K [648] The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They K KN make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in [166] part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648 During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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These Kazakhs were united briefly at the end of the 17th century by the great Khan Tauke (or Tiavka), a leader equally gifted as political integrator and as law-giver. With his death, however, they broke up again into the three hordes.

Cossack lines were established to the north and thrust into the steppes from the northwest during the 18th century. The Russian conquest of Central Asia took place in the 19th century, although Russian penetration had begun in the 18th. The principal patterns—as in the history of many other colonizations—were force, persuasion, and good luck. The Russians were able to play one group against another, for example, Kalmuks against Kazakhs; when native Slavs rebelled under Pugachev, Moscow played Turk against Cossack and Kalmuk against Cossack.

There were several important defections from the side of the Turks to the Russians. A famous Khan of the 1740's, Abul Khair, asked Russian aid in the incessant wars of Turk against Turk on the steppe. Early in the 19th century another Kazakh leader, Khan Bukei, a descendant of Abul Khair, led 1,500 Kazakh families of the Little Horde across the Ural River onto Russian territory, seeking refuge from the steppe wars. By 1805 his horde had grown to 5,000 tents or families, and by 1845 to 30,000. At this point a new horde, the Inner or Bukei Horde, was formed.

How he was able to do this, how it happened that enough room for 30,000 nomadic families could be found between the Ural River and the Volga, is part of the long story of the lasting dissensions and resentments on the steppe. At the beginning of the 17th century the Kalmuks had moved from the eastern steppe (Chinese Dzungaria) to the Volga, and pastured their herds on the steppes between the Ural River and the Volga, north to the Don River and the vicinity of present-day Stalingrad, south to the western shores of the Caspian Sea. In 1771, thousands of them fled across Turkestan back to China, decimated as they moved by their Turkish enemies, the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, and Kirgiz. Those Kalmuks who remained lived west of the Volga, and the steppe to the east as far as the Ural River was left free. This part of the steppe was left as a vacuum because Tsarist policy established a military line of Cossack settlements along the Ural River down to the Caspian, which prevented movement into the steppe. In 1800, Khan Bukei petitioned Moscow for permission to occupy this steppe and Moscow, to gain an ally in the steppe, granted the petition, thus conforming to the old political adage of divide and rule. The new horde was called the Inner Horde, because it lay within the Cossack lines, or the Bukei Horde, after its founder.

The only constant pattern in the history of the steppe nomadic culture has been that of instability. With no over-all political order, it was inevitable that Russian "protection" should be sought by particular factions while others held aloof.

During the 19th century the Kazakhs engaged the Russians in a number of sporadic wars and rebellions. The leaders of these movements have been variously depicted as great liberators or as feudal lords who, jealous of their domains, refused to let the Russians in.

*Dispersed after the Revolution.

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G98

One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

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Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

east, he gained support among many elements of the Great Horde, the easternmost of the Kazakh divisions. He sought the support of China, which was promised him, and the allegiance of the Kirgiz, which they refused. His strategy was to use the Kirgiz mountain pastures as his base of operations against the Russians. He campaigned against the Kirgiz and was at first successful, but in the spring of 1847 he fell into a trap, was defeated by the Kirgiz, taken prisoner, and executed. 175 648

During much of Russian rule Kazakhstan was a place of exile. Banished there were such outstanding individuals as Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of the Ukraine, and Dostoevsky, great Russian novelist.

In the economic sphere, outside capital was brought in during this period by traders and bankers of Tatar and Russian origin. In an isolated case, a British mining development was undertaken at Ridders in northeast Kazakhstan. Religious dissidents came to settle and farm the north and northeast portions of the region. In general, however, the commercial and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and Russia were not deep.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1900

The Kazakhs were sensitive to political developments in Russia, however. During the revolution of 1905 the Kazakhs had a distant echo of the events in European Russia. During World War I they engaged in a rebellion of their own, a year before the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolt the Kazakhs objected to military conscription and to confiscation of their property, which was presumably taken over for war purposes but in fact often ended up in private, non-military hands. There is some indication that Russian private interests "provoked" the revolt in order to confiscate Kazakh land and herds. 175 648 668

At the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Kazakhs already had a year's experience of revolt behind them. In opposition to and under the influence of Russian contact, the Kazakhs underwent their own political evolution; that is, they evolved a political expression of their nationalist consciousness. It took the form of the Alash-Orda party. This was not really a party, for it lacked a formal organization and a platform or explicit political philosophy; it was vague in its aims and in its external relationships to other parties and nations. Its leaders were Kazakh intellectuals who later disbanded, some joining the Bolsheviks, some fleeing to Turkey.

During the civil war, from 1918 to 1922, the White generals Kolchak and Dutov were faced by the Red Army commander, Frunze, who appealed to the workers in Turkestan to support him. In April 1919 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree calling for a founding Congress of Kirgiz Soviets in Orenburg (now Chkalov, in the southern Urals). In July of that year, a Revolutionary Committee for the Administration of the Kirgiz Districts was established. (At that time, the area including the present Kazakh and Kirgiz republics was administered as one unit, which bore the name Kirgiz.) 175 648

By the end of 1919, Kolchak was defeated. With the destruction of Kolchak's southern army in the fall of 1919, direct contact between

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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K 175 698

Central Asia and Soviet Russia was established, and in March 1920 the last remnants of the White Army were driven out of Kazakhstan.

A Communist Party organization was quickly formed in the newly won territories. The Central Committee of the Party set up a Province Bureau, in which were united all party organizations, at Aktyubinsk in May 1920, and in October a founding Congress of the Kirgiz (Kazakh) Soviets was held in Orenburg, then the regional capital.

Kazakh participation in the Revolution and civil war was minimal. Their political energy was poured into local Turkic movements rather than into the Bolshevik party. They took little initiative in aligning with the Russian Revolution, and played only a small part in Frunze's campaigns, despite his appeals; their partisan activity in the civil war is skipped over in contemporary accounts. Certainly no Kazakh appears in the leadership of the Bolshevik movement in the early period. Years later, in a search for an honor roll of revolutionary Kazakh leaders, a certain Amangeldy was singled out, and collective farms and administrative districts were named in his honor. It appears, however, that at the time of the Revolution he had acquired little fame.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was formed in 1918; in 1922 it federated with the Belo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Transcaucasian soviet socialist republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1925, the Transcaucasian SSR was divided into the three present republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, and two autonomous republics, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, were raised to the status of union republics.

Prior to 1917 Russian Turkestan was divided into three political units, the province of Turkestan and two vassal states of Russia, the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara. The Revolution and the civil war changed the social structure of Turkestan and with it the administrative picture. The Red Army dissolved the principality of Khiva in 1919; the Emirate of Bukhara was invaded in 1920 and the Emir driven out. In 1920 the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks were organized into the Kirgiz Autonomous SSR. In 1924 Kazakhstan was made an autonomous republic and separated from the Kirgiz ASSR; both republics, however, were still part of the RSFSR and were administered from Moscow. The Karakalpak Autonomous Region was attached to the Kazakh ASSR until 1931, when it was assigned to the Uzbek SSR. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution in 1936, Kazakhstan was separated from the RSFSR and made a union republic, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, its present status.

THE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT

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There is a steady flow of people across the Central Asian borders of the Soviet Union. It would of course be a mistake to regard the

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central [611] feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the [186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been • D75] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgiz group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5] Radlov, Obraztsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6] Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7] Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AHI/Mongolia, Cat. IIb, pp. 262-264.-- Analyst]

H.T. 562 842 581 conduct of the inner affairs of the household--within the tent, as Barthold has put it. On the birth of a son she attains the highest set of rights accessible to a woman of her estate, among them the right to hold the family estate in trust should her husband die leaving her only minor sons.

000 The available evidence permits us to say little more on the subject of kinship relations among these early Turks. The data relative to the kinship systems have been set forth, and some of their implications traced through, in their political, legal, and economic aspects. This is the most that can be said at this point regarding the functioning, that is to say, the social correlates of the kinship system and the kinship terminology. The spare, almost skeletal picture is significant, however, not only for its intrinsic message, but also because its features supply us with a certain historic depth, and may be examined in their workings in greater detail in later, more fully recorded eras of Turkic social history.

H.T. 175 Ka. 175 These early Turks moved westward, partly under Chinese pressure, for they had long been a source of trouble for the Chinese. The latter took some pains in familiarizing themselves with the nomadic steppe-dwellers in order the better to control and pacify them; the Chinese attitude was that of a civilizer rather than

Ka. H.T. 175 [Orkhon Turks]

a conqueror, in Gobineau's fine distinction. The concern of the Chinese caused them to record much of what we know today of these peoples. The Turks themselves in moving westward gave up their indigenous letters because they now entered the world of Islam, and encountered a new literary and historical tradition. The period of the first Islamic contact was followed by successive waves of empire-building, the Chingisids and the Timurids. Data for kinship and social analysis during this period are impossible to extract from the record because the fine shades of difference in social structure between the Turks and the Mongols are not reflected in the documents of the period or even later; our sieve is too coarse. We may get a few hints, such as those from a Turkic dictionary of the period,[30] but these are insufficient for our purposes.

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The Kazakh-Kirgiz[31]

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The earliest historical records of the Kazakhs appear in the 15th century, prior to which date they are said by Howorth to have formed part of the Uzbek domain.[32]

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[30] Carl Brockelmann, Mahmūd al-Kašγarī.

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[31] For the purpose of brevity, and to avoid confusion, I shall speak of these people as the Kazakhs, and where the Kirgiz other than the Kazakhs are referred to, they will be called the Kara-Kirgiz.

[32] Howorth, II, part 2, p. 6.

●175 However that may be, they continue to appear as one people a century later, and their present division into three hordes dates only from the 17th century. However, even after the Kazakhs had been divided into three hordes, they were united from time to time under mighty Khans, such as Khan Tiavka in 1698.[33] But at the beginning of the 18th century the three hordes were definitively separated.

[177] During their occupation of the steppes of Turkestan the Kazakhs have been at a constant state of war with the Kalmuks,[34] but they have interacted with the Kalmuks, or the western Mongols generally, on other levels as well: they have also intermarried with them, and some of the implications of this will be taken up below.

16) The Kazakhs in toto combined to form the second most numerous Turkic population in the world[35] at the end of the 19th century; this condition existed before that time, and is the case today as well. Levshin, whose data were gathered about the year 1830, reported the following population for the Kazakhs: a combined total in all the hordes of about 400,000 tents or families, which was to be multiplied according to Levshin

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[33] Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. Ḳazaḳ.

[34] Spuler, 355-387.

[35] Aristov, Zametki, 550.

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of these who had followed

[42] Levshine, 299-300.

[43] Kostenko, 30.

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
●175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward,
to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonitrated OR disproved.

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[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks RD2
Kazak RD2

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steppe goose," and *zag*, "a steppe crow," thus making it of Perso-Turkic origin, and implying the meaning "free as a steppe bird."* So, whatever the difference in detail, it is agreed that the term describes a people living a free and wandering life.

Already in the tenth century the land on the Lower Don was called Kazachia (according to Porphyrogenitus), and in the eleventh century we hear from a Persian poet Firdusi (in his "Shah-Nameh") of the nomad Kazak people, armed with lances, and of their chief, Kazak-Khan. These Kazak are probably the ancestors of the Turkic Kaizak who later migrated to Central Asia, where they still live. But it is possible that the term may have remained in Eastern Europe from the eleventh century,† though we hear of people bearing this name in Eastern Europe some three or four centuries later.

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History of the Asiatic Community.—After this mention in the eleventh century we hear nothing of the Turkic Kazak for two centuries, and it is probable that their organization was amalgamated with some other Turkic power. But in the thirteenth century, after the death of Jinghis Khan, we hear that they were included in that part of his empire which passed to his son Juji.‡

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find the Kazak again asserting themselves as a separate unit. In the meantime they seem to have formed part of the "White Horde" from which the chieftains of the modern Kaizak claim their descent, and were probably united with the Uzbeg. About the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a number of these Kaizak-Uzbeg, discontented with the rule of their Khan, Abulkhayr, migrated with their Sultans Girei and Janibeg into Moghulistan (between Issyk-Kul and Kashgar), and have since been called simply Kazak.§

This Kaizak steppe community continued to exist with increasing power till the end of the seventeenth century. Their Khans were called the Kasimov dynasty, after Kasim Khan, son of the Janibeg‖ who led them on their migration. At the end of the seventeenth century one of their most famous Khans, Tiavka, divided them for

* P. Kurnietsoff, La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie Centrale. Paris, 1912, p. 60.

† H. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, p. 280. ‡ W. W. Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," p. 193.

§ Mirza Haydar, "Tarikh-i-Rashidi," p. 82; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, "The Heart of Asia," pp. 193, 194; H. H. Howorth, "History of the Mongols," Part II., Division I., p. 6.

‖ V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, "The Emperors and Princes of the Line of Kasim" (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Description of the Hordes and Steppes of the Kirghis-Kaizak," St. Petersburg, 1832 (Russ.); N. Aristoff, "Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaizak of the Great Orda, and of the Kara-Kirghis," 1894, pp. 391-486 (Russ.); N. I. Grodekoff, "The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of Syr-Darya Territory," 1889 (Russ.); T. Kazantseff, "Description of the Kirghis-Kaizak," 1867 (Russ.). A. N. Kharuzin, "Bibliography of the Ethnographical Essays on the Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis."

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks
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administrative purposes into three groups, called Ordas—the Great, Middle, and Little Ordas. Since then the history of each Orda runs apart.

The subjugation of the Kaizak to Russia lasted from 1734-1864, when they were finally separated by the Russian military cordons from the other Asiatic powers. But they have not ceased to take every opportunity to emphasize their independent spirit. The most important rising was that led by Kenisary, who was master of all three Ordas for some six years, 1838-1844. While the Russian occupation of the Khanates of Central Asia roused the indignation of many people in Europe, the conquest of the Kaizak seems to have met with approval. Sir Henry Howorth, speaking on this question, gives us a somewhat uncomplimentary picture of the Kaizak. He says: "The Kazaks, whose very name is a synonym for freebooters and robbers, have been the scourge of all their neighbours for generations, habitually given to robbery and pillage, bound by no promise and no oath, and constantly disintegrating under the solvent of rival chiefs, with rival reputations as leaders of bandits. The Russians were long-suffering for years to their habitual treacheries and deceits." So much for this quotation. A personal acquaintance with these people produces a more satisfactory impression of their moral. But it is true that it is only with difficulty that they can be persuaded to abandon their nomadic life, and that they ally themselves easily with other nomads, such as the real Kirghis, called Kara-Kirghis, the Kipchak, and other Turkic steppe people.

An analysis of the history of the Turkic Kaizak, especially of the later period, from the middle of the fourteenth century, when their numbers were swelled in consequence of the Chinese Revolution of 1370 on the one hand and the sweeping conquests and imperial régime of Timur-Khan in Central Asia on the other,* leads us to the following hypothesis as to the cause, and even the inevitableness, of their organization.

Big empires composed of nations with such a variation of habits and cultures as the Empire of Mété (3-2 cent. B.C.), of Jinghis (13 cent. A.D.), or of Timur (14 cent.), were kept together only by strong autocratic rule and by imposing on all people one mode of life. Such a rule worked fairly satisfactorily in the regions near the centre of the Empire, but at the outskirts the rule would be naturally weaker, and hence would allow the people to revert, as it were, to the mode of life of their ancestry—*i.e.*, the nomadic life as against the more sedentary life of the Central Empire. The more autocratic and powerful the ruler of the Empire, the more often do we hear of rebellious people on the outskirts.

This explanation of the origin of the Asiatic Cossacks holds good

* L. Cahun, "L'Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie," 1896, p. 479.

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RP2 Kirgiz RP2
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Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz" or Ḳirghizistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *ǰüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*uluˇ ǰüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kiˇiˇi ǰüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta ǰüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th century; but it was not till the xix^th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ sūyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

Ka [631]
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